Rusk and the Dominican Constitutions, P. 2

Nothing Like Live Target Practice Against An Enemy With No Planes of His Own

"Aboard the Coral Sea—The North Vietnam that American carrier pilots see almost every day has become a land where very little traffic moves even at night, and where people disappear at the slightest hint of an approaching airplane. 'I ran a road reconnaissance yesterday and there wasn't a thing on it,' Commander James Morin said. 'No trucks, no animals and no people. And it was one of their major highways.' . . . Commander Morin, who is from Worcester, Mass., and Lt. (jg) James Hughes, 25, of New Hyde Park, N.Y., were sprawled on a couch in their air conditioned readyroom. . . . 'Every day we get to fly somewhere,' he said. 'It's been a hell of a cruise. And we've only lost one pilot. This is no more than you'd expect on any routine operation.'" —*New York Times, May 30.*

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIII, NO. 22 JUNE 7, 1965 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

A Man The Whole World Has Begun to Distrust

After a year and a half with Lyndon Johnson as President, one thing can be said about him with certainty. It is dangerous to trust anything he says. His favorite stance on the platform is that of a country preacher, brimful of Gospel. Events have shown that beneath his corny brand of idealism is a hard-boiled operator who believes in force. The difference between him and Goldwater is that the latter candidly espoused what the former covertly practices. The Arizonian lost because he was more honest and less clever. But there is a limit to cleverness, and Johnson has about reached the limit.

The Same Pied Piper Banner

The good-will built up by Kennedy for our country in every section of the world except East Asia has been dissipated by his successor. It is no exaggeration to say that Johnson is today distrusted everywhere: in Latin America, where he has destroyed the hopes aroused by the Alliance for Progress; in Western Europe, where he is regarded as impulsive and high-handed; in India, where he affronted Shastri by cancelling his visit rather than risk hearing an Asian dissent on our Vietnamese war; and in Eastern Europe, where the Russians had expected a continuation of the detente begun under Kennedy and the satellites had hoped for a continued thaw in the cold war as their one sure means of liberation. Rarely has one man blasted so many hopes so quickly.

In Mr. Johnson's recent VE day address to Europe, he touched on "the dramatic contrast between this 20 years and the 20 years which followed World War I" and said that on Nov. 11, 1938, "Munich was just six weeks old and war less than a year away." Perhaps he spoke too quickly. Many of his listeners must have wondered whether a general war might not again be only another year away. Others must have recalled that it was behind the Pied Piper banner of anti-Communism that the Japanese began their incursions into China in the 30s and the Germans their mobilization for their second attempt in a generation to rule the world. The League of Nations was destroyed in the process as the United Nations is being destroyed by our own policy of unilateral military intervention. Humanity has long feared that some day a reckless man would have his finger on the H-bomb. Johnson has himself to blame if people are beginning to fear that maybe he is that man.

From "Liberation" to Plain Killing

"Saigon—The Vietcong have achieved a high degree of immunity. They move freely through most of the country with little fear that the local populace will betray them. In many areas, when wounded, they boldly resort to hospitals run by the U.S. aid mission. In the last few weeks they are known to have used Nha Trang, a government held seashore resort as a rest and recreation site for whole companies of guerrillas. . . . The Vietnamese army has yet to demonstrate that it can exercise any enduring control in the countryside. This has led to a decision to shelve the pacification program. The focus of the war has shifted from counter guerrilla activity to a more traditional form of combat, replete with fire bombs and supersonic aircraft. . . . The original army advisers were well schooled in the modern doctrines of psychological warfare, even though they sometimes seemed to bark out their lines like a military command: 'Win the hearts and minds of the people, and that's an order, Sergeant!' On the other hand the Marines and paratroopers recently landed see their mission in old-fashioned terms, 'Kill Vietcong.'"

—*Tom Ross, Chicago Sun-Times, May 23.*

In a flurry of recent speeches and press conferences, Mr. Johnson has shown himself on the defensive. He is finding his critics much less ready than they were in the campaign to be taken in by sweet-talk. He has tried first of all to counteract the widespread resentment in the press corps and in the colleges over his inability to take criticism and his effort to stifle independent reporting and foreign policy debate. He is trying to sound like Jefferson in public while he sounds more like McCarthy in private. He told an entourage of reporters at the White House recently that he knew that Communists were behind the teach-ins. He said he had instructed J. Edgar Hoover to root them out. "How rare is the land and extraordinary the people," he said at the National Cathedral school May 31, "who freely allow, and encourage as I have on many occasions, citizens to debate their nation's policies in time of danger." But after so warmly patting himself on the back, he refused to answer at press conference next day when asked whether this meant that he approved "university teach-in techniques." Even a pretended magnanimity is beyond him. The real Lyndon Johnson is reflected in *U.S. News & World*

(*Continued on Page Four*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The U.S. Prefers the Oligarchic Charter of 1962 to the Democratic of 1963

What Rusk Did Not Say About That Dominican "Constitutional Controversy"

Secretary Rusk was his most specious on Meet the Press May 30 in discussing the constitutional question in the Dominican Republic. It is a pity none of the reporters on the panel effectively challenged him. "There is a very high controversy at the moment," the Secretary said, "between the Constitution of 1963 and the Constitution of 1962." The listener would hardly guess that the Constitution of 1962 was put into effect by decree Sept. 16, 1962, and drafted in private, without debate or discussion, by a Council of State we had put into power. The Constitution of 1963, on the other hand, was written by a Constituent Assembly elected along with Juan Bosch in December of 1962 and its adoption on April 29, 1963, was the result of extended public debate and free decision. Our own Supreme Court Justice Douglas was one of the consultants and it was hailed in Latin America as a model of a democratic and socially-minded Charter.

We'd Like to Exile the Suspect

The U.S. has thrown its influence on the side of the 1962 Constitution. The 1963 Constitution set up a modern secular State. The 1962 Constitution, on the other hand, embodied the Concordat with which Trujillo bought the blessings of the Vatican in June, 1954. The 1963 Constitution is also closer to ours in providing full political freedom. Our Embassy in Santo Domingo dislikes Article 66 which says no Dominican may be expelled from his country, as no native born American can be from ours. Exile and statelessness are among the most terrible weapons of terroristic and authoritarian regimes. But we would like to exile from the Dominican Republic those considered politically dangerous, just as Trujillo used to do.

The 1963 Constitution was adopted after a generation of suffering in despotic darkness. The current rebellion shows that Dominicans in large numbers are willing to fight and die for the Constitution's reinstatement. Were it not for the timely arrival of our Marines, the oligarchy would have been defeated. The possessing classes and their military "gorillas" we trained and armed hate the 1963 Constitution for its social features; its provisions for labor legislation, for agrarian reform, for limitation of large landholdings and for a curb on foreign exploitation. To stem the rebellion we are even willing to talk about elections and letting the people decide what Constitution they want. But only two years ago, they did decide and they did vote. Suppose they vote again for the 1963 Constitution? Will we let the military overthrow it again the first chance they get?

Imbert Feared As Another Trujillo

Santo Domingo—A member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy warns privately, after ordering an eavesdropper outside: "A new military dictatorship is being established day by day. If the U.S. permits this, it will lose the people." Brig. Gen. Imbert has not declared himself a dictator, but neither did Trujillo. . . . 'Tough Tony' Imbert . . . was placed in power by the Americans. He soon began to call himself 'President'. . . . He announced plans to 'broaden' his government . . . along the lines of the government of Batista as an official memorandum put it. . . . Then Imbert's political arrests began, in the manner of the Trujillo era. Charges were ill-defined or non-existent. Relatives were never sure where the prisoners were taken. . . . Legal counsel was unheard of.

—Richard Dudman in St. Louis Post-Dispatch May 30

Santo Domingo—After a day of travel through the rich Cibao Valley of the north central part of the Dominican Republic, a visitor carries away one clear impression: People in this region are vigorously opposed to the junta government headed by Imbert. They see in the Imbert government a reincarnation of the hated Trujillo dictatorship.

—Goodsell in Christian Science Monitor June 1.

Footnotes in Farewell to A Time Magazine Hero and Holy Warrior of Dominica

"The Dominican military has been the strongest anti-Communist influence. Most often it was in the person of Wessin y Wessin . . . a rare bird among the fine-feathered Dominican officers. He prefers fatigues . . . a devout Catholic . . . he regards Communism with a bleak, uncompromising hatred. As commander . . . he instituted mandatory Sunday mass for recruits, taught courses in how to spot Communists. He also has at his disposal a sizeable chunk of the Dominican Republic's firepower. . . . 'As far as I'm concerned,' says Wessin y Wessin, 'Bosch is a Communist.'"

—From Time's *cover story on the hero May 7.*

"The military fell apart in the first five days of the rebellion which started April 24. . . . The troops of Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin came from the San Isidro air base with their tanks and fought at the Duarte bridge over the Ozama river, the main entrance into the city. . . . A few hours before the Marines landed, the rebels controlled the bridge and had seized more than 15 of Wessin's tanks. . . . U.S. military men . . . said the situation was chaotic and the troops were demoralized. The myth of the invincible Wessin . . . was going up in smoke. . . . 'As the Marines landed, the rebels dominated the capital and were in a position to spread out through the countryside,' one U.S. official said. 'The arrival of U.S. troops probably restricted the rebellion from . . . involving the whole country.'"

"Some say the 20,000 or 25,000 troops in the countryside would have just switched sides."

—A "now it can be told" dispatch by AP correspondent Louis Uchitelle in the Washington Star, May 31.

"No sooner was Bosch in office than the attack upon his policies began. The press, TV and radio, all in the hands of the right, accused him of being Communist . . . he attempted to enforce the legal limits upon the amount of land that could be held by one individual. . . . He challenged the legality of a Standard Oil of N.J. contract . . . and ordered confiscation of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company's 'excess profits'. The Church was threatened by Bosch's obvious determination to restrict its political activity. . . . A group of Colonels . . . led by Tank Commander Col. Wessin y Wessin and a Catholic army chaplain, issued an ultimatum to the President. . . . The outcome was that Col. Wessin became a Brigadier General and Bosch became an exile. . . . Bosch's programs were incompatible with the best interests of the armed forces . . . reform, development and welfare . . . were bound to cut into the lion's share of the budget traditionally reserved to the armed forces."

—Generals vs. Presidents: Neo-Militarism in Latin America by Edwin Lieuwen (Praeger, 1964) pp. 58-60.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate Aide in Air War College Paper Clairvoyant on Caribbean Crisis

Revealing "Fiction" Foreshadows LBJ's Call for the Marines

Two years before the Dominican crisis a close friend of Lyndon Johnson depicted him as belligerent and simpleminded in his attitude toward Latin America. The friend is Bill Lewis, administrative assistant to Senator Margaret Chase Smith (*R., Me.*). The revelations about Johnson came in an article he wrote for the Air War College called "Anatomy of Decision." It reads like a well informed version thinly disguised as fiction of how then Vice-President Johnson and other top officials reacted to the Cuban missile crisis. Senator Smith placed the article in the *Congressional Record* of May 1, 1963 and referred to it again last month (May 5) in a speech on the Dominican Republic. "What a marked resemblance," she exclaimed, between Johnson and Jim Landon, the militant Vice-President of Mr. Lewis's story.

"To Hell With Our Image"

The resemblance turned out to be more than coincidental. "I've known Lyndon Johnson for 21 years," Mr. Lewis told us when asked about the resemblance, "and I've had some experience with how he works." Jim Landon is for shooting first and talking later. In a Security Council meeting shortly after the President has received word of a Soviet missile build-up on the island of Caribbea, Landon recommends reconnaissance flights to confirm the build-up. Secretary of State Burgess objects because of the possible "diplomatic repercussions." The flights, he saids, "could damage our image in Latin America." "To hell with our image," explodes Vice-President Landon. So much for diplomacy.

Landon's next target is Attorney General Ken Roberts. The reconnaissance pictures have turned out positive, but the Attorney General is opposed to a full-scale invasion or limited, pinpoint bombing. He says that "would be just as immoral as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor." The legal and moral solution, he says, is to appeal to the U.N. and the OAS, but he is "no longer completely opposed" to a military blockade. The Vice-President responds: "If a criminal faces you with a cocked gun on the verge of killing you and terrorizing your neighbors and your community, . . . it is your moral duty to shoot him." So much for morality and legality. "As for the psychological reaction of the Latinos," Landon adds, "make no mistake about it. They respect power."

The Secretary of Defense recommends a blockade with possible escalation into an invasion or air attack. This is the course which the President finally follows, but it does not satisfy Vice-President Landon. He alone pursues the conspiratorial rhetoric of the cold war to its logical conclusion: "The only real way to remove that threat—to cut out the cancer soon enough—is to overthrow the Communist regime—and the only way to do that is by invasion and occupation." He ends with a humble plea: "So I say that we shouldn't throw away this second chance to do the right thing—to . . . liberate Caribbea with a free, democratic government." This foreshadows the shoot-from-the-hip spirit in which Johnson sent the Marines to Santo Domingo.

A Letter in Protest

"*Dear Sir*—Your comments about "cold war and big business types at the upper echelons" of the poverty program [in the Weekly of April 26] just don't make sense—to be totally frank. To single out a few officials who have had connections with business or with the Defense Department and then conclude that our agency "could quickly become an adjunct of the cold war" is sloppy thinking.

"How about the fact that the top Deputy to Sargent Shriver is Jack Conway, right from the United Auto Workers and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO? And if I may, how about the fact that I am serving as Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, after twenty years in the labor movement, the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation and government? And Lisle Carter, outstanding NAACP official and government administrator? And Job Corps Director Otis Singletary, Chancellor of the University of North Carolina? And Theodore Berry, Community Action Director, an outstanding Negro attorney?

"Even more importantly, how about the fact that, as a result of OEO insistence, the poor themselves are being actively involved in the development and execution of the poverty programs? Out of 4,266 members of top governing agencies of the first 144 local programs, 1,413 were direct representatives of the poor. And 1,087 of them, or about 25% were from minority groups. In more than half of all the major community action programs of the country, the administrators of the programs are Negroes, with long personal records of poverty and discrimination."

—Hyman Bookbinder, Asst. Director of the Poverty Program, in a letter to the Weekly, *May 27.*

When Students at Cornell Asked Harriman What We'd Do If Communists Were Elected

QUESTION: What if the people of the Dominican Republic elect, freely, a communist government?

Mr. Averell HARRIMAN: Well, that's a, that situation has never been faced. There is no indication that a Communist government has the popularity—

AUDIENCE: What about Guatemala?

Mr. HARRIMAN: It has never, no government has ever come into—no Communist government has ever come into power by popular election.

AUDIENCE: Try it in Vietnam.

Mr. HARRIMAN: Now, if you're Communists, you can go to some other country. . . .

AUDIENCE: We're not Communists.—Would you call that democracy?—Answer the question, answer the question.

Mr. HARRIMAN: I don't know, I don't know. Nobody knows what will happen if there is a Communist government elected. It is very unlikely.

AUDIENCE: When are you going to stop this horrible lying and name-calling.

Mr. HARRIMAN: One of the principles of the inter-American system is that *Communism is incompatible with the* American system. Now that is stated by twenty different countries, and—

AUDIENCE: Nine are dictatorships.

Mr. HARRIMAN: Why are these bleeding hearts for Communists? How many Communists are there among you? Will those who are Communists please stand up?

AUDIENCE: Don't try to slander us with 'communism'. McCarthyist slanders. They won't work here.

—Averell Harriman At Cornell, a transcript, May 11 (abr.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even *The New Leader* Debunks LBJ's Dominican Red Scare

(*Continued from Page One*)

Report (June 7) which says, "The White House is known to be concerned about the number of extreme 'left-wingers' getting across their views in newspapers and on television and adding to U.S. troubles." This will be news even to moderate "left-wingers" accustomed to being sealed off from access to major communication media. Apparently any criticism is regarded in the White House as "extreme" left-wing.

The Latin Stall-In

The teach-in on the campuses has been paralleled by something which might be described as a stall-in in the Organization of American States. Here again Mr. Johnson is on the defensive, and trying to hide the truth about our isolation in the hemisphere. A long-winded filibuster style reply at press conference was an attempt to hide the political bankruptcy of his Dominican policy. Even as he was talking he was encountering great difficulty in getting the OAS to send an ad hoc advisory committee to Santo Domingo. The revealing blow was when Gonzalo Facio, the Costa Rican Ambassador to the OAS and the only democratic representative suggested for this three-man body, declined to serve on it. He said he could not serve because of his country's policies against military dictatorship and military participation in politics. The OAS meetings, characteristically, are held behind closed doors but Facio made a public statement (*Washington Star, June* 1). When the three-man mission was finally approved after a debate which lasted into the morning hours, the Ambassador of the rightist military dictatorship in El Salvador had to be substituted for Costa Rica. The other two members will be the U.S. and the Brazilian military dictatorship. The biggest and most democratic regimes in the hemisphere either voted "no" (Uruguay and Mexico) or abstained (Argentina, Venezuela and Chile).

Mr. Johnson said at press conference that the other countries in the hemisphere had long ago declared Communism incompatible with the Inter-American system. This does not mean they agreed that the U.S. Marines could march in whenever and wherever we thought a government leaned too far left.

New High in Censorship

"Censorship and news management at the Pentagon under Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara have reached the 'far out' stage where even a Democrat, Representative George W. Andrews (Alabama), has complained, reported The Journal of the Armed Forces in its May issue. During hearings behind the closed doors of the House Military Appropriations Subcommittee, an article from the Saturday Evening Post magazine was placed in the transcript of the hearings. The unclassified, nonsecurity material in the article criticized what it said were excessive numbers of support personnel in U.S. ground forces. As is customary before publishing congressional committee hearings involving military matters, the subcommittee sent the transcript to the Pentagon to censor anything it deemed vital to national security. The result? Back came the censored copy with censorship of part of the article which already had appeared without objection on the newsstands across the country!"

—Senate Republican Memo, May 20.

Just how far offbase we are in Santo Domingo is indicated by the fact that two well-known anti-Communist Latin American experts, both violently anti-Castro, have attacked Johnson's Red scare excuse for intervening in the Dominican Republic: Theodore Draper in the May 24 issue of *The New Leader* and Robert J. Alexander in the May 20 issue of *New America,* organ of the Socialist Party. The Administration's Dominican intervention was not made to look less silly by Secretary Rusk's defense of it at press conference May 26. "There was a time," Mr. Rusk said, to demonstrate the power of a handful, "when Hitler sat in a beer hall in Munich with seven people." The Washington correspondent of the London *Times* (May 27) commented tartly, "Apparently, however, tens of thousands of American troops are not to be deployed whenever eight suspicious men gather together over glasses of beer."

What we found most repulsive in the press conference was Mr. Johnson's unctuous call for plastic surgeons to go to Vietnam. An easier way to meet that need would be to stop dropping napalm on its people.

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Addressed Envelope

The 1964 Index Is Ready—You Can Have One Free If You Send a Long Stamped Addressed Envelope

I. F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20015

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

6/7/65

For the enclosed $5 send a gift sub to:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

For $5.35 extra send I. F. Stone's *The Haunted Fifties*

Indicate if announcement wished ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except the last week in December and the first week in January and Bi-Weekly during July and August at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED